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Proposal

Policing the Rainbow: LGBTQ Experiences, Attitudes, and Perceptions of Law Enforcement



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INTRODUCTION

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) solicitation *Research and Evaluation on Policing, Fiscal Year 2021* calls for research on “tactics and strategies that strengthen police-community relationships” (NIJ-2021-40004, 2021: 6). NORC at the University of Chicago and the University of California, Irvine are pleased to propose a study aimed at understanding the content of LGBTQ-police interactions and how such interactions, in tandem with other experiential knowledge, shape LGBTQ perceptions of and attitudes toward law enforcement. We will use a mixed-methods approach that employs a large-scale, representative survey along with in-depth semi-structured interviews with a subset of respondents to understand these experiences, perceptions, and attitudes. Findings from this study can aid in enhancing law enforcement’s relationship to the LGBTQ community by identifying more effective community policing strategies, improving police service delivery, and increasing police legitimacy in the eyes of marginalized communities. To achieve these goals, we propose four objectives:

- The primary goal of this study is to **develop and field the first ever representative survey on LGBTQ people’s experiences with, attitudes toward, and perceptions of law enforcement that uses a national probability sample and a matched sample of non-LGBTQ respondents.** The survey will go beyond capturing experiences and measuring important perceptions like legal cynicism to also capture and consider respondents’ cultural and social milieu, such as political ideology, community involvement, media consumption, and social support. Doing so will enable us to investigate the empirical relationship between perceptions of police and crime reporting behaviors and understand if these additional social and cultural variables contribute to shaping respondents’ perceptions and attitudes toward law enforcement. Achieving a representative sample of LGBTQ respondents is both possible

and cost-effective using NORC's unique resource of the AmeriSpeak Panel, a pre-constituted panel through which we can achieve a representative sample of approximately 700 LGBTQ respondents. This representative survey will improve on a previous study on perceptions of law enforcement by the Vera Institute (with co-PI Jenness) using a small, non-probability sample of LGBTQ people that informs our survey design.

- A second goal is to **select respondents from the larger survey for follow-up in-depth qualitative interviews** to more fully understand LGBTQ experiences with, perceptions of, and attitudes toward law enforcement. Doing so will enable us to tease out more complicated and nuanced interconnections that undergird the LGBTQ community's relationship to law enforcement
- Our third goal is to **disseminate this work through academic publications and reports, the popular press, a report on best practices for police interacting with LGBTQ people, and via a project website that will publicly disseminate our data and allow users to complete our survey and create data visualizations.**
- Finally, we will **develop a training module** on interacting with and serving the LGBTQ community that can be used by law enforcement agencies and personnel.

NEED FOR CURRENT STUDY

The same forces that conspire to foment negative attitudes and perceptions of police and reluctance to engage with law enforcement in other disadvantaged communities appear to be at work within the LGBTQ community. Yet we know very little about these phenomena among LGBTQ people from the point of view of systematic social science. A growing body of first person accounts, advocacy reports and proclamations, and political statements address this

phenomena, and now it is time for social science to do so in a systematic way and on a national scale.

Disadvantaged groups experience victimization at higher rates than those in more structurally advantaged groups and may therefore disproportionately benefit from greater police protection (Desmond, Papachristos, and Kirk 2016; Sered 2014). Research using the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) shows that this holds true for LGBTQ people who are victimized at higher rates than non-LGBTQ people (Flores et al. 2020). Other work based on non-probability samples suggests that LGBTQ report crime and victimization at lower rates (Hanssens et al. 2014; Dunbar 2006; Herek, Cogan, and Gillis 2002). Research further reveals that LGBTQ people who do not report are much more likely than non-LGBTQ people to say they did not report because of perceptions of police bias (Briones-Robinson, Powers, and Socia 2016).

Studies also reveal that LGBTQ people have disproportionately negative experiences with law enforcement (for a summary see Mallory, Hasenbush, and Sears 2015). These disparities are further compounded by race, gender, and gender identity/expression. For instance, Latina transgender women report high rates of discrimination and negative interactions with the police, including physical and sexual assault (Galvan and Bazargan 2012). Compounding the problem, the LGBTQ community contains a larger proportion of people of color and of low socio-economic status than the general population (Gates and Newport 2012; Albelda et al. 2009), indicating a particular need to understand this community and its intersectional structural inequities.

Thus, research to date paints a clear picture: sexual and gender minorities (SGMs) are victimized at higher rates than the general population, report crime victimization at lower rates,

and nonetheless have disproportionate contact with police and the criminal justice system. Situating the LGBTQ population in this way raises a series of important questions: what is happening in encounters between law enforcement and SGMs? How do SGMs perceive law enforcement, and what attitudes toward law enforcement do they have? Do these experiences, perceptions and attitudes contribute to a willingness to report crime and cooperate with law enforcement on enforcing the law? Our study will systematically address these and related questions through an examination of LGBTQ experiences, perceptions, and attitudes toward law enforcement, with a focus on legal cynicism and willingness to report crime, and ultimately with an eye toward identifying new practices to inform community policing efforts within LGBTQ communities. Addressing these critically important questions is a necessary first step in a longer journey to improving law enforcement's relationship with the LGBTQ community.

Existing studies examining LGBTQ experiences with, attitudes toward, and perceptions of law enforcement suffer from two substantial limitations that our study will address. Research using the NCVS (Flores et al. 2020; Briones-Robinson, Powers, and Socia 2016) can achieve an adequate sample of LGBTQ people, but they are limited because the NCVS does not ask about people's attitudes toward police, only reporting decisions. However, this will provide a valuable source of comparative data for our proposed study. Other studies ask a wider variety of questions but draw on unrepresentative, non-probability samples (for a summary, see Mallory, Hasenbush, and Sears 2015). Our study will be the first to overcome these two barriers while also adding a mixed-methods approach that will help us unpack patterns revealed by our survey data in order to gain further insight into the dynamics that undergird LGBTQ community-police relationships.

Our approach is informed by a non-probability survey on perceptions of police and victimization reporting behaviors among approximately 1,000 respondents ($n = 110$ LBGTQ) in

California and New Jersey conducted by the Vera Institute and on which Jenness (a co-PI on this proposal) was a co-PI. Our preliminary analysis of data derived from that survey reveals greater levels of legal cynicism among LGBTQ respondents than non-LGBTQ respondents (Grasso, Jenness, and Vogler, In Progress), but it gives an incomplete picture of why and how such perceptions are cultivated. Our study will build on and improve upon the survey instrument used by the Vera Institute by adding questions about factors that likely contribute to the LGBTQ community's collective perceptions of and attitudes toward the police, such as risk perceptions, political ideologies, media consumption, and social support. We hypothesize that these factors may contribute to or mediate between legally cynical views and willingness to report crimes or otherwise engage with law enforcement. The larger scale and representativeness of our survey in conjunction with the redesigned survey instrument will allow us to make comparisons among demographic groups and along a greater variety of other social and cultural factors. Our in-depth qualitative interviews will allow us to better understand these factors and how they operate.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research is designed to address five main questions, including:

- What occurs in LGBTQ-police interactions? How do LGBTQ people **experience** those interactions?
- What are LGBTQ people's **perceptions** of law enforcement and (how) do they differ from those of non-LGBTQ people and across demographic groups within the LGBTQ population?
- Do differential experiences and perceptions engender different **attitudes** toward law enforcement for LGBTQ compared to non-LGBTQ people or for various demographic groups within the LGBTQ population?

- How does the likelihood of reporting crime or victimization differ between LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ populations and among various demographic groups within the LGBTQ community?
- Based on understanding these relationships, what are best practices for law enforcement interacting with LGBTQ people, and how can we best improve policing of LGBTQ communities and relations between law enforcement and the LGBTQ community?

BACKGROUND/LITERATURE REVIEW

We know very little about how interactions between LGBTQ people and law enforcement unfold, how LGBTQ people perceive law enforcement, what attitudes those perceptions and experiences engender, and how these all affect the likelihood that LGBTQ people will report crime when they are victims of violence and otherwise cooperate with police in reaching community goals. Clearly, addressing these most basic questions is a necessary precursor to improving policing related to effectively serving the LGBTQ community. As a recent report explained, “The 9.5 million LGBT Americans are a part of every local and state community, and part of the diverse communities that law enforcement seeks to engage to develop stronger community support and trust” (Mallory, Hasenbush, and Sears 2015, 1).

Nonetheless, relations between law enforcement and some segments of the LGBTQ community have reached a boiling point in recent years, as exemplified by news headlines like “Police are a Force of Terror: The LGBT Activists Who Want Police Out of Pride” (Levin 2019) in *The Guardian* and, less stridently from the *New York Times*, “Do the Police Belong at Pride?” (Stack 2019). Organizers of LGBTQ Pride festivals in cities ranging from Toronto to St. Louis to Sacramento voted to bar uniformed police from marching in their 2019 parades, while others,

such as New York City, decided to allow police officers to march as usual, only to be met with protests and boycotts by activists.

LGBTQ people have a contentious history with the police, exemplified in one instance by the Stonewall Riots that marked the beginning of the modern gay movement. After facing years of harassment and arbitrary arrest by the New York Police Department, the LGBTQ patrons of the Stonewall Inn revolted when the bar was raided on June 28, 1969. The period after Stonewall continued to witness discrimination and abuse of the LGBTQ community by police (Agee 2006), and bar raids continued to occur, with raids of gay bars being reported as recently as 2009 (McKinley 2009).

Over the course of the late-20th and 21st centuries, laws criminalizing the public gathering of LGBTQ people, same-sex intimacy, and more were repealed or fell into disuse, while new laws meant to protect SGMs—such as hate crimes legislation—were enacted. There have also been concerted efforts in recent years to improve relations between the LGBTQ community and law enforcement (Dwyer 2014). Some of these efforts have included LGBTQ-police liaisons within police departments and LGBTQ sensitivity training (Mallory, Hasenbush, and Sears 2015; Wolff and Cokely 2007). Today, the gay movement has created alliances with law enforcement, and as the above headlines suggest, police often march in Pride parades.

Despite these new protections and attempts to improve relations, LGBTQ people continue to have disproportionate contact with law enforcement, endure disproportionate harm from the criminal justice system (Mogul, Ritchie, and Whitlock 2011) and are incarcerated at three times the rate of the general population (Meyer et al. 2017). Studies conducted by academics, human rights organizations, and advocacy organizations alike consistently find that LGBTQ people—and especially LGBTQ people of color—experience profiling and discriminatory treatment by

law enforcement agents based on actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender, or gender identity/expression (Hanssens et al. 2014). A national survey conducted by Lambda Legal found that almost three quarters (73%) of LGBTQ people and people living with HIV had face-to-face contact with the police in the previous five years (Hanssens et al. 2014). Comparatively, only about 2.3% of the general population reports face-to-face contact with the police in a given year (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2020).

These disparities are compounded by race, class, and gender presentation (Mallory, Hasenbush, and Sears 2015). In an era of Black Lives Matter and the increasingly public plight of transgender people—especially trans women of color—LGBTQ activists have mobilized around these issues (Westbrook 2020) revealing that Stonewall is anything but history. As an activist told the *New York Times*, “For us, Stonewall is connected to a larger system of structural violence that includes mass incarceration… These institutions haven’t really figured out how to deal with trans and queer people at all, or with people of color, and so they end up disproportionately harming them” (quoted in Stack 2019). Statements like this suggest an urgent need to better understand issues of legal cynicism, police legitimacy, and crime reporting behaviors among LGBTQ people.

Experiences with Police, Legal Cynicism, and Reporting Crime

Legal cynicism can be conceptualized in different ways, but for the purposes of this study, we understand legal cynicism as a “cultural orientation in which the law and the agents of its enforcement, such as the police and courts, are viewed as illegitimate, unresponsive, and ill equipped to ensure public safety” (Kirk and Papachristos 2011: 1191). Legal cynicism is an important concept to understand empirically because police require public cooperation to maintain public safety, and lack of trust between law enforcement and the communities they

serve discourages cooperation and may inhibit reporting crimes and victimization to authorities (Skogan 1984; Tyler and Fagan 2008). Moreover, law enforcement agencies that are perceived as hostile toward particular communities are unlikely to be able to meet the needs of those populations, even when crimes are reported or aid is sought from the police. Extant research suggests that all of these forces are at work in marginalized communities.

Cynicism toward the legal system may develop in several ways, including both “over-policing” tactics, such as stop and frisk and excessive use of force, and “under-policing,” wherein law enforcement is slow or unresponsive to calls for assistance and are unsympathetic toward victims and their needs (Anderson 1999; Carr, Napolitano, and Keating 2007; Desmond, Papachristos, and Kirk 2016; Kirk and Matsuda 2011; Kirk and Papachristos 2011). Research suggests that racial and ethnic minorities and people in the lower class levels of a highly stratified economic system are less trusting and satisfied with the police due to both negative personal and vicarious encounters with law enforcement (Berg et al. 2016; Brown and Benedict 2002; Nadal et al. 2017; Sampson and Bartusch 1998). For instance, Black people are more likely to be stopped and frisked by police in predominantly white neighborhoods (Carroll and Gonzalez 2014), and a recent study using body-worn cameras during traffic stops found that police were more likely to use disrespectful language toward Black individuals than white ones (Voigt et al. 2017). Unsurprisingly, that existing work shows that low-income individuals and people of color hold more cynical views of the law than more affluent and white populations (Carr, Napolitano, and Keating 2007; Hagan et al. 2018; Hagan, Shedd, and Payne 2005; Peck 2015; Sun and Wu 2018; Weitzer 2014; Weitzer and Tuch 2006; Wu, Lake, and Cao 2015).

It is less clear, however, whether holding negative views of law enforcement leads to lack of reporting potentially criminal incidents. Some research suggests that racial minorities may be

opposed to calling the police, but other work has found race and ethnicity to have no effect (Baumer 2002; Felson, Messner, and Hoskin 1999; Tarling and Morris 2010; Wolitzky-Taylor et al. 2011; Zavala 2010). Other work finds a higher likelihood that crimes with Black victims will be reported in comparison to white victims (Akers and Kaukinen 2009; Bachman 1998; Kaylen and Pridemore 2015; Xie and Lauritsen 2012). Similarly, research is mixed on the effects of socio-economic marginalization, with some work finding a higher likelihood of poor individuals reporting (Kaylen and Pridemore 2015) and other research finding no effect (Akers and Kaukinen 2009; Gottfredson and Hindelang 1979). The majority of scholarship on gender differences has found that women are more likely to report than men (Baumer 2002; Berg et al. 2016; Felson, Messner, and Hoskin 1999; Tarling and Morris 2010; Zavala 2010; Wolitzky-Taylor et al. 2011). In our own work in progress based on the Vera Institute survey data described earlier, preliminary findings suggest that the primary factors affecting whether one reports when they are a victim of a bias-motivated crime are experiential (Grass, Jenness, and Vogler In Progress). Those who were previously victimized were less likely to report subsequent victimization, as were those who did not report previous victimization. However, it is unclear why these relationships exist. Our study, particularly the qualitative interviews, will help unpack this finding, should it persist in our own survey data.

Zaykowski and colleagues contend that several of these puzzles related to factors that predict the probability of reporting crime can be explained by adopting an intersectional lens (Zaykowski, Allain, and Campagna 2019). Using data from the NCVS, they found that Black women, women with less than a high school degree, and women living in families below the poverty line had an increased likelihood of reporting, which could account for previous mixed findings regarding the relationships between race, class, and reporting. They also found that a

belief in police bias or police ineffectiveness were not the most important reasons for those who did not report, raising questions about the direct connection between legal cynicism and reporting. As they argue, “reporting behavior is not just a function of one attribute but rather is a function of multiple identities and structural inequalities” (Zaykowski, Allain, and Campagna 2019: 1305). This nuanced relationship between intersectional identities, experiences with law enforcement, and willingness to report potentially criminal incidents is further complicated by the fact that comparatively high rates of reporting can be accompanied by underreporting relative to actual criminal victimization.

Given a long history of tension between law enforcement and the LGBTQ community, it perhaps comes as no surprise that the handful of studies to examine LGBTQ perceptions of the police find that, like other marginalized groups, sexual and gender minorities (SGMs) tend to hold less favorable views of the police (Finneran and Stephenson 2013; Gillespie 2008; Miles-Johnson 2015; Nadal and Davidoff 2015). Owen and colleagues, for example, found that SGMs uniformly held more negative views of the police than their straight and cisgender counterparts (Owen et al. 2018). Serpe and Nadal similarly found that, compared to cisgender people, transgender people held less positive views of the police and were less comfortable interacting with police (Serpe and Nadal 2017). Our own preliminary work based on a non-probability sample echoes this work, finding that racial and sexual minorities hold more legally cynical views and see the police as less legitimate than white and heterosexual people (Grass, Jenness, and Vogler In Progress). However, only legal cynicism and police legitimacy variables significantly predicted reporting, suggesting that demographics are more mediating factors than direct predictors.

Despite these consistent findings, one study using data from the NCVS found that SGMs are no less likely to report victimization than non-SGMs (Flores et al. 2020). Unlike our own current work in progress, however, this study does not offer measures of legal cynicism, and it does not offer in-depth measures of individuals' decision-making and cultural orientations, both things our proposed study will do. Moreover, the unrepresentative samples of previous studies do not allow for meaningful comparisons across groups. Given that the LGBTQ population contains a disproportionate number of people of color and low-income individuals (Gates and Newport 2012; Albelda et al. 2009), many basic and more nuanced intersectional questions remain unanswered and will only be addressed with higher quality data.

Our proposed study will be able to address many of the empirical puzzles presented above through our mixed methods design and innovative survey and interview approach. Unlike findings based on convenience samples with limited generalizability, our findings will be based on a nationally representative probability sample. Another strength of our approach is that, in addition to asking questions about experiences with, perceptions of, and attitudes toward law enforcement, our survey will also ask questions designed to capture the “cultivation” of individuals’ perceptions and attitudes, such as their involvement with activist organizations, the kind of media to which they are exposed, their political ideologies, and sources of social support. Because very few people have direct contact with the police in any given year (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2020), much of what people think of the police is likely contoured by forces other than direct personal experience; thus, these cultivation variables are likely to play a significant role in shaping individuals’ perceptions and attitudes toward law enforcement. Finally, the semi-structured qualitative interviews we propose to conduct will shed even more light on these issues by delving deeply into individuals’ experiences and rationales for their perceptions and attitudes.

PROJECT DESIGN AND METHODS

We propose a mixed methods study using a large nationally representative probability sample ($n = 1400$) in addition to in-depth qualitative interviews with a subset of respondents ($n = 50$) to assess LGBTQ experiences with, perceptions of, and attitudes toward law enforcement and how these differ from those of non-LGBTQ respondents. This study would be the first ever study on this topic using a probability sample of LGBTQ people. Moreover, this would also be the first study that could empirically compare LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ populations on the same measures of legal cynicism, legal engagement, and sources of cultivation of perceptions and attitudes. Finally, it will be the first study to systematically compare findings across demographic groups within the LGBTQ community.

Previous studies of LGBTQ people have assessed their likelihood of reporting crime, as described above. However, these studies either do not use a probability sample or do not ask questions that would allow for a much-needed more robust assessment of LGBTQ experiences with, perceptions of, and attitudes toward law enforcement and legal institutions.

COMPARATIVE DESIGN

Most previous studies of legal cynicism and legal engagement focus on particular subsets of the population, such as Black and immigrant communities. However, little data on these phenomena allow for comparisons of subgroups to the general population. The design of our proposed study, in tandem with the use of a nationally representative probability sample, will allow such comparisons and thus enable us to draw inferences regarding mechanisms underlying our survey findings.

The qualitative portion of our study will also use a comparative design by dividing interviewees (all SGMs) into two groups: one consisting of those who hold negative and one

with those who hold positive attitudes toward the police. This design will allow us to tease out in finer detail how perceptions of and attitudes toward the police are cultivated (e.g., how do specific direct personal experiences and/or exposure to various sources of second hand information condition perceptions of and attitudes toward law enforcement?) and what underlying considerations loom large when assessing whether or not to report crime to law enforcement.

DEVELOPMENT AND FIELDING OF SURVEY INSTRUMENT

The co-PIs have developed a rough draft of the survey instrument (see Appendix B). During the first phase of the study, we will revise and refine the survey instrument and pilot test it with a small sample of LGBTQ respondents ($N = 50$) drawn from NORC's AmeriSpeak panel. Pilot test results will be analyzed and appropriate edits will be made to the survey. This effort will be aided by an existing survey instrument designed by the Vera Institute (with Jenness as a co-PI). Though this survey has been fielded, it does not use a probability sample and does not have a large enough sample to conduct meaningful comparisons among subgroups of the LGBTQ community. Thus, we think of the instrument developed by Vera as a launching pad, not a landing pad.

The proposed survey will ultimately consist of approximately eighty questions and take approximately twenty minutes for respondents to complete. We will field the survey through NORC's AmeriSpeak panel, through which we will be able to recruit approximately 700 LGBTQ respondents and 700 demographically matched non-LGBTQ respondents. The anticipated final racial breakdown of both the LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ sample is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 – Racial composition of survey sample

1:NH-White	460	66%
2:NH-Black	85	12%
3:NH-Other	9	1%
4:Hispanic	85	12%
5:NH-MultiRace	47	7%
6:NH-Asian	14	2%
Total	700	100%

AmeriSpeak Panel

The AmeriSpeak Panel, a unique resource at NORC, makes our study both feasible and cost-effective. Without such a resource, it would be cost prohibitive to attain a nationally representative sample of LGBTQ respondents. This makes AmeriSpeak the ideal vehicle for our survey and for understanding LGBTQ experiences and views at a national scale.

Funded and operated by NORC at the University of Chicago, AmeriSpeak® is a large probability-based panel designed to be representative of the U.S. household population. U.S. households are randomly sampled with a known, non-zero probability of selection and then contacted by mail, telephone interviewers, overnight express mailers, and field interviewers. In order to provide a nationally representative sample, AmeriSpeak leverages the NORC National Frame, which provides sample coverage for over 97 percent of the U.S. households.

Panel recruitment is a two-stage process: initial recruitment using less expensive methods and then non-response follow-up using personal interviewers. For the initial recruitment, respondents are invited to join AmeriSpeak online by visiting the panel website AmeriSpeak.org or by telephone (in-bound/outbound supported). English and Spanish language are supported for both online and telephone recruitment. The second-stage non-response follow-up targets a stratified random sub-sample of the non-responders from the initial recruitment. Units sampled

for the non-response follow-up are sent a new recruitment package with an enhanced incentive offer. NORC field interviewers then make personal, face-to-face visits to the respondents' homes to encourage participation.

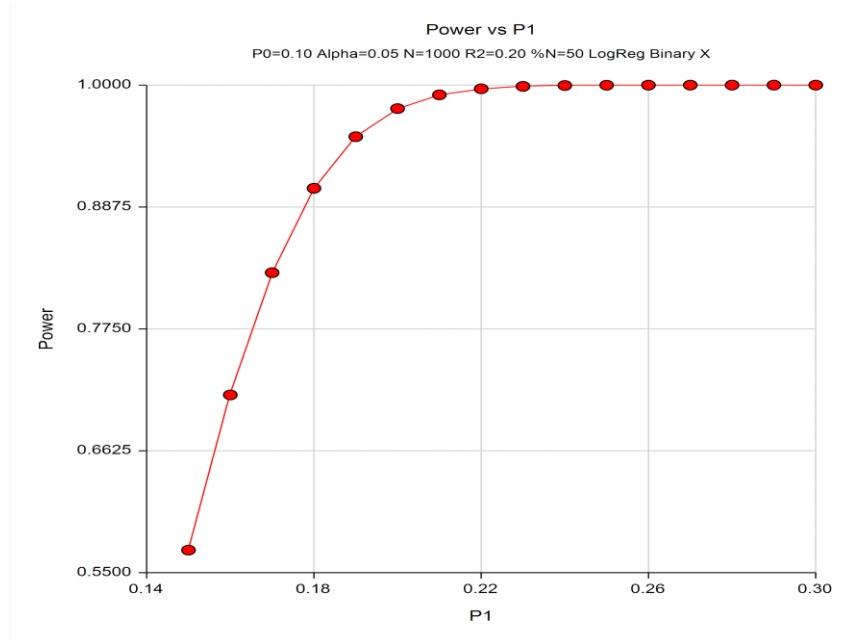
The non-response follow-up (NRFU) is instrumental for producing a credible response rate for the panel, boosting the panel recruitment response rate by a factor of 6.1. Additionally, NRFU reduces non-response bias significantly by improving the representativeness of the AmeriSpeak panel sample with respect to certain hard-to-reach segments of the population underrepresented by recruitment relying only on mail and phone. NRFU improves representation for demographic segments, including lower income households, cell-phone only households, renters, persons age 18 to 34, African Americans, Hispanics, and persons without a high school degree or with only a high school degree (no college). The weighted response rate for panel recruitment is 34.2%. The current panel contains over 45,000 active panelists. AmeriSpeak panelists participate in NORC studies or studies conducted by NORC on behalf of our clients. More information about AmeriSpeak capabilities and research papers are available online at AmeriSpeak.NORC.org.

POWER ANALYSIS

We expect to complete 700 surveys with LGBTQ individuals and 700 surveys with non-LGBTQ individuals, using the AmeriSpeak panel as the sample source. This will allow us to achieve 80% power to detect a difference between the group proportions of 0.06. Power estimates for logistic regression analysis (Hsieh, Block, and Larsen 1998) demonstrate that we can achieve 83% power at a 0.05 significance level to detect a change in Prob(Y=1) from the baseline value of 0.10 to 0.17, where Y represents a binary response variable. Figure 1 shows achieved power at various values of P1. If necessary, we will employ imputation to retain

observations and maintain power, as co-PI Jenness did in a recent publication that relied on a sample of 315 interviewees (Jenness and Gerlinger 2020).

Figure 1



ANALYSIS OF SURVEY DATA

A final weight will be calculated for every survey respondent to support estimation and analysis based on the survey data. The purpose of the weights is to adjust for potential bias due to unequal sample selection probabilities, nonresponse, and frame errors. In particular, the LGBTQ and the non-LGBTQ sample weights will be calibrated to the same distribution by key demographic characteristics.

For data analysis, we propose conducting both simple comparisons and more sophisticated multivariate modeling to address key research questions. For key analytic variables, we will compare their distribution between the LGBTQ and the non-LGBTQ groups through simple t-tests of means. Such tests will help to determine if any observed differences between the two groups are statistically significant at a given confidence level.

To investigate the impact of LGBTQ status on the distribution of response variables in the presence of potential covariates, we will run multivariate models, such as ordinary least square (OLS) models for continuous variables and logistic regression models for categorical variables. These models assess the impact of LGBTQ status on the response variable while controlling for potential covariates, such as race and education level.

Specifically, we will use OLS models to assess the relationship between demographic and experiential independent variables and the response variables of perceptions and attitudes toward the police, both part of our legal cynicism construct. This will allow us to see if demographic (e.g., race, education, gender) and/or experiential variables (e.g. previous encounters with police, media consumption, social movement involvement) are related to holding particular perceptions of and attitudes toward law enforcement. Similarly, logistic regression models will be used to assess the relationship between various demographic and experiential variables and the binary outcome of reporting or not reporting when one is a victim of a crime.

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

Fifty in-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews will supplement and complement our survey by providing further insight into the details of LGBTQ encounters with police, how LGBTQ people perceive the police and policing of the LGBTQ community, how LGBTQ people have come to their current attitudes about law enforcement, and whether (and why) they have changed over time. Fifty interviews is a sufficient sample size to attain variability in interviewees along attitudinal and demographic characteristics and to achieve saturation of important patterns. Qualitative interviews will also probe more deeply into the cultivation of perceptions of police, with a focus on identifying specific experiences and sources of information that shape people's perceptions and attitudes. In other words, we will delve into interviewees' experiences, political

ideologies and activities, involvement and identification with social movement organizations, media consumption, and sources of social support.

Semi-structured qualitative interviews are ideal for these goals because they take into account the natural contexts in which individuals function to provide an in-depth understanding of real-world problems (Korstjens and Moser 2017). Semi-structured interviews are also ideal for eliciting narratives and stories that cannot be captured using traditional survey methods. Such narratives will allow us to contextualize and further understand the results of our survey. In order to elicit rich narratives, we will approach semi-structured interviews as collaborative encounters that involve active listening such that we are able to respond to informants in ways that further draw out meaning (DeVault and Gross 2007). Finally, interviews will **allow informants to voice their own preferences for how police-LGBTQ relations could be improved**. This anticipates the goal of creating technical training modules for law enforcement that are informed by LGBTQ people. To get the best possible information from interviews, we will use “sequential interviewing” (Small 2009) and the constant comparative method (Yin 2018), wherein we analyze data as it is collected, continually compare across cases, and adjust interview protocols to best fit our policy aims.

Interviewees will be recruited through the AmeriSpeak Panel. Those who affirmatively answer that they would be willing to be contacted for a follow-up interview will constitute the sampling frame. From there, we will select respondents in two stages. We will begin by dividing respondents between those who report having negative attitudes toward the police and those who do not. Dividing interviewees according to their attitudes toward police will ensure that we do not sample from only one group and, instead, sample from a range of views on a key independent variable—law enforcement as “friend” or “foe”, to use the vernacular—represented

in interviews. We will select 25 interviewees from each group. Within each group, we will recruit 10 men, 10 women, and 5 transgender or gender nonconforming individuals. This will involve a significant oversample of transgender people, especially transgender women, because the literature suggests that they are disproportionately victimized, have a disproportionate number of encounters with law enforcement, and they will not be well-represented in our probability sample. Thus, qualitative interviews will be our primary source of information for transgender respondents. If we cannot achieve a sample of ten transgender individuals via AmeriSpeak, we will use chain-referral sampling (Heckathorn 2002) to meet our target sample.

We will also seek to match the racial demographics outlined in Table 2 for selected interviewees. This sampling strategy will also over-represent people of color, both because extant literature suggests disproportionate police contact among these populations (though very little is known about Asian, Native, or multiracial populations on these topics—a gap our interviews will begin to fill) and because the LGBTQ population contains a disproportionately large number of people of color compared to the general population (Gates and Newport 2012). SGMs of color are also particularly likely to be targeted for violence and appear especially unlikely to report (Meyer 2015). This sampling strategy will also help address one of the main empirical open questions in this area of scholarships; namely, whether and to what extent negative encounters with law enforcement actually contribute to legally cynical views and a reluctance to engage with law enforcement.

Table 2 – Racial demographics of interviewee sample

	Valence of attitudes toward police	
	Negative	Positive
	n=25	n=25
White	5	5
Black	5	5

Hispanic/Latino	5	5
Asian	5	5
Native/Multiracial/Other	5	5

The research team will conduct interviews via Zoom when possible. All interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed for subsequent coding. We anticipate interviews lasting approximately one hour, and interviewees will be paid fifty dollars for participation.

ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

Interview transcripts will be analyzed and coded using qualitative data analysis software by at least two members of the research team. We will use an iterative deductive-inductive thematic coding strategy wherein we deductively identify relevant codes that follow from our framework and previous research and code interviews using those pre-specified themes. Some of these themes include valence of feeling toward law enforcement, political and/or activist involvement, significant legal events or encounters, and change in attitudes and/or perceptions of police.

Coding discrepancies will be discussed by the team to arrive at a final determination, and an inter-rater reliability measure will be calculated. We will also inductively identify relevant themes and topics that were not identified prior to coding, as this approach will allow space for unexpected findings. Inductively identified themes will be discussed as a team to determine their relevance and potential inclusion in the final report.

CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICY AND PRACTICE

Our research will result in substantially increased understanding of LGBTQ perceptions of and experiences with law enforcement and the legal system, which will in turn inform policies around LGBTQ-police interactions and community policing of LGBTQ neighborhoods. Given

increased tensions between the police and the LGBTQ community regarding, for instance, police involvement in Pride Marches and police presence in LGBTQ neighborhoods, our research will contribute directly to identifying tactics and strategies for improving police-community relationships, precisely in line with the goal of the *Research and Evaluation on Policing, Fiscal Year 2021 RFP*.

By identifying what is causing particular perceptions of and attitudes toward law enforcement, this research will enable law enforcement administrators and practitioners as well as policymakers to understand how to increase police legitimacy in relation to marginalized communities and thus, how to increase reporting of potentially criminal activity and how to better serve a historically underserved population. Moreover, though not the primary purpose for which the study is designed, it will shed light on whether policing strategies aimed at improving relations with the LGBTQ community are working effectively. Indeed, one major goal of this research is to identify strategies for developing more effective community policing strategies for the LGBTQ community that are informed by high-quality empirical research and input from the LGBTQ community itself.

Finally, the proposed project contributes to all three of the priority areas for research on policing as identified in NIJ's *Policing Strategic Research Plan, 2017-2022*:

- **Objective I.1: Develop strategies to support the policing workforce.** Our proposed study will help to identify best practices for police interacting with LGBTQ populations.
- **Objective II.2: Promote research to support policing practices.** Given efforts in many cities to create culturally-responsive policing—including in relation to sexual and gender minorities—this research will indirectly assess whether such efforts are increasing police acceptance and legitimacy within the LGBTQ community.

- **Objective III.3: Promote research on the role of individual and community characteristics on policing services.** This research will examine the role of sexuality, gender, race, and culture on community perceptions of policing.

CAPABILITIES AND CAPACITIES

As one of the world's foremost independent research institutions, NORC at the University of Chicago delivers objective data and meaningful analysis to help decision-makers and leading organizations make informed choices and identify new opportunities. NORC is a nonprofit research organization with over 80 years of experience collecting survey data to guide critical programmatic and policy decisions. NORC enjoys an unparalleled background in developing survey measures, conducting national surveys, and conducting qualitative evaluation research. It employs a host of methodological specialists and statisticians that will be available to aid in data analysis, as needed. Our dedicated Economics, Justice, and Society research center contributes deep expertise in the areas of crime, law, and legal policy, and has a long history of working closely with professional policing and criminal justice organizations, which will allow our research team to effectively disseminate and communicate findings from our study to key law enforcement agencies and personnel. Furthermore, NORC has an established record of conducting research on policing, including studies on police use of force, policing tactics, and the ongoing Office of Safety and Wellness Study that seeks to understand the wellbeing of police. Much of this research has been funded by NIJ.

The research team will be led by co-PIs Dr. Stefan Vogler and Dr. Valerie Jenness, both of whom have considerable experience collecting data on criminal justice issues from members of marginalized communities. Dr. Vogler, a research scientist with NORC's Academic Research

Centers, brings deep expertise in qualitative methodologies as well as gender- and sexuality-related legal issues. His most recent work uses experimental methods and was fielded using NORC's AmeriSpeak Panel with funding from the National Science Foundation. His work has been published in leading legal studies, criminology, and sociology journals, including *Law & Society Review*, *Theoretical Criminology*, and *Gender & Society*. Dr. Vogler's first book, *Sorting Sexualities: Expertise and the Politics of Legal Classification*, is forthcoming with the University of Chicago Press in June 2021. Additionally, Dr. Vogler is experienced in disseminating his work to broad public audiences through media outlets including *Salon*, *the Conversation*, and *them*, an LGBTQ-focused Condé Nast publication.

Dr. Valerie Jenness is Distinguished Professor of Criminology, Law & Society at the University of California, Irvine. Her research uses mixed methods and has focused on an array of criminal justice issues that implicate marginalized populations, including prostitution, hate crime, prison violence and grievances, and violence against people who are LGBT. She is the author of four books and many articles published in highly regarded journals in sociology, law and society, and criminology. Her research has been recognized with awards from the American Sociological Association, Society for the Study of Social Problems, the Pacific Sociological Association, the American Society of Criminology, the Law and Society Association, the Western Society of Criminology, the University of California, and the Gustavus Myers Center for the Study of Bigotry and Human Rights in North America. It has been translated and reprinted in German, Greek, Japanese, Russian, and Spanish, presented at an array of professional conferences and universities in the U.S. and abroad (e.g., Argentina, Australia, Austria, Canada, Columbia, England, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Mexico, and South Africa), as well as to the U.S. Congress, the National Academy of Sciences, judges and

staff attorneys for the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, and the National Association for Civilian Oversight of Law Enforcement. Her research has been funded by the National Academy of Sciences, the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Justice, the California Policy Research Center, the California Department of Mental Health, the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, the University of California, and Washington State University, and has been discussed in well-known media outlets, such as National Public Radio in the U.S. and Australia, the *New York Times*, *The New Yorker*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Guardian* (London), and *Salon Magazine*. Dr. Jenness brings significant experience working with law enforcement agencies (e.g., The Los Angeles Police Department), state corrections departments (i.e., the California Department of Corrections), and federal law enforcement officials (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement), and she will be a vital resource in disseminating the proposed work to practitioners and policymakers.

MANAGEMENT PLAN AND ORGANIZATION

Figure 2 – Timeline

	2022												2023												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Refine project plan & develop survey instrument	X	X																							
Obtain IRB approval			X																						
Field survey			X	X	X																				
Quantitative data analysis					X	X	X	X	X	X															
Refine interview protocol							X	X																	
Qualitative interviews									X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									
Qualitative data analysis									X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
Writing & dissemination									X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	

The grant period will begin in January, 2022 and run through December, 2023. Four staff will be employed on the project: Dr. Vogler, Dr. Jenness, a research assistant at UC, Irvine, and a research analyst at NORC. Jenness and Vogler will lead the project and share administrative and

graduate student supervisory responsibilities. Monthly team meetings via Zoom will also serve to keep the project on track.

The project will begin with a January kickoff meeting in person where Jenness and Vogler will refine the project plan and revise and finalize the survey instrument, potentially in conjunction with the research assistants. After refining the project plan and survey instrument and obtaining IRB approval, the survey will be fielded through NORC's Amerispeak Panel beginning in April. This will likely be a shorter process than planned for in the timeline, but by building in additional lead time, we allow for some delays that may occur while fielding the survey.

Quantitative data analysis will commence immediately upon receiving that data from AmeriSpeak in the summer of 2022. Vogler, Jenness, and the research assistant and analyst will jointly discuss and agree upon an analytical strategy, and one research assistant who is well-trained in quantitative data analysis will be primarily responsible for cleaning the data and running the agreed-upon models, under the supervision of the co-PIs. A NORC statistician will also be employed on the project to advise on necessary methodological and analytical issues for this phase of the project.

Based on early results of the survey analysis, the research team will finalize interview protocols for the qualitative interview phase of the project. Qualitative interviews will begin while quantitative analysis is ongoing so that new or surprising information from interviews may inform that analysis. We anticipate completing qualitative interviews during a six-month period. Interviews will be completed by Jenness and Vogler, who are both experienced in an array of qualitative methods, including semi-structured interviews.

A second in-person meeting of the research team will occur in January, 2023 in order to agree on a coding scheme for the qualitative interviews. Analysis of qualitative interviews will be ongoing in line with our sequential interviewing strategy (Small 2009). We are reserving an additional three months after the completion of the interviews to finish analysis.

During the second year of the grant period, we will begin writing and disseminating results from the quantitative analysis. The final three months of the grant period will be reserved for completing writing and incorporating results of qualitative interviews into the final report.

DISSEMINATION STRATEGY

We intend for our target audience to be academics, practitioners, and the general public. As such, our dissemination strategy will take a three-pronged approach by distributing our findings widely through media reporting and a project website, a best practices guide and training module aimed at law enforcement practitioners, and academic presentations and publications.

Our first step will be to present findings from this research at the annual meetings of the American Criminological Society, the Law & Society Association, and the Society for the Study of Social Problems. Based on feedback from conference presentations (and potentially lectures at universities), we will seek to publish our work in outlets such as *Criminology* and *Law & Society Review*.

We will disseminate our findings through the media, both through interviews with journalists and authoring journalistic pieces ourselves. Both Jenness and Vogler have experience giving interviews and placing opinion pieces with widely-distributed media outlets, including NPR, the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Conversation*, and *Salon*. Because of this experience, existing contacts, and the highly salient topic of our work, we

anticipate a good success rate in gaining media coverage. NORC and the University of California, Irvine both have in-house media relations departments that will assist in pushing findings to the broader public.

Contributing to our plan of wide public dissemination, we will establish a project website in collaboration with a professional web developer. We will archive our work on this website as a dynamic digital dataset that will allow any user to create data visualizations using our survey data, similar to the “data dashboard” created as part of the California Healthy Kids Survey (<https://calschls.org/reports-data/public-dashboards/>). Users will also be able to register and take our survey through the site and will then be able to see where they fall on a range of measures captured by our survey in comparison to the national probability sample for which we will have data (similar to <https://www.yourmorals.org/>). Thus, future researchers, practitioners, and the general public could eventually use not only our data but also user-generated data collected through the website. Similarly, researchers could arrange to use the site as a data collection tool. We believe that the highly interactive and public-facing nature of this site will greatly increase the reach and impact of this work.

Finally, we will present our findings to practitioners through several means. First, we will present our work at conferences for law enforcement practitioners, such as the annual meeting of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. We will also create a best practices guide on policing LGBTQ communities and interacting with LGBTQ constituencies. We will make this report freely available through our project website, where we will also explain the research and aggregate all of our public-facing writing on the subject so that the public and practitioners can have free access to this material. Lastly, Jenness has extensive contacts with and experience presenting to law enforcement, corrections agencies, and government bodies, and we will

leverage these contacts to present our findings directly to law enforcement agencies and policymakers.